

Radical Abolitionist.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."—LEV. xxv. 10.

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MAY ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY.

The anniversary of the American Abolition Society was celebrated on Thursday afternoon, May 13th, at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, New York. A large and intelligent audience of ladies and gentlemen was present. At 2½ o'clock, LEWIS TAPPAN, the first Vice-President of the Society, in the absence of the President, Gerrit Smith, called the meeting to order, and in a brief address, stated its objects and purposes.

The 82d Psalm was then read, by REV. S. S. JOCELYN.—Prayer was offered by REV. MR. HARRISON, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

The Corresponding Secretary, WILLIAM GOODELL, on behalf of the Executive Committee, presented the following

RESOLUTIONS:

1. Resolved, That since the requirements of God, in the Bible, extend to and include all human relations, duties and activities, it necessarily follows that any Religion, Church or Ministry, that fails to inculcate the duties of Nations, Governments, Rulers and Citizens, is ruinously defective, incapable of preserving social order, saving men from their sins, securing liberty on earth or salvation in heaven.

2. Resolved, That since slavery is our great national sin, in the guilt of which the whole Nation—government, rulers and citizens—is involved, it is their manifest duty to repent of that sin, "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

3. Resolved, That at the present crisis, a longer neglect of this duty will jeopard their liberties and their national existence, and subject the nation, its government, rulers and citizens, to the Divine retributions denounced in Scripture, as the inevitable consequence of rebellion against the Almighty, in the persevering oppression of the poor and needy.

4. Resolved, That in the result of the recent conflict in Congress concerning Kansas, we find a fresh illustration of the distinctive principles and measures of the American Abolition Society, namely, that there can be no security of any portion of the people, in a nation that does not protect the rights of all its inhabitants; that the political rights and civil liberties of "white" men, can be maintained in no way but by defending the equal rights and liberties of colored men; that "the stream of general liberty cannot flow unpolluted through the mire of partial bondage;" that a people "base enough to tolerate the enslavement of others, will become base enough to submit to enslavement themselves;" that there can be no successful and permanent limitation of slavery short of the abolition of slavery; that the false notion, and unwise admission, that slavery is legal and Constitutional in some parts of the nation, leads to and necessitates the conclusion that it is legal and Constitutional in all parts of the nation; and hence there is no rational hope of relief from the aggressions of the Slave Power, but by a vigorous effort for the direct and speedy abolition of slavery itself, in the use of the same Federal power that is now wielded for its support and extension.

5. Resolved, That the late vote in Congress, enacting the Conference Lecompton bill, in its connection with the history and doings of the pro-slavery party, for several years past, completes the chain of evidence which prove the existence of a conspiracy to establish slavery in all the States and Territories, by authority of the Federal Government.

6. Resolved, That the proofs of this conspiracy are to be seen in the opposition made to the admission of California as a free State, in the repeal of the Missouri restriction, in the attempted revival, and threatened national sanction of the African slave-trade, in the doctrine of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, and in the claim of Virginia against New York—all involving a virtual denial of the right of any State to abolish slavery—in the open avowal of that doctrine by the Washington Union, by members of Congress, and in the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas; in the President's assertion that "Slavery exists in Kansas under the Constitution of the United States," and that "Kansas is therefore, at this very moment, as much a slave State as Georgia, or South Carolina;" and finally, in the manifest determination to force Kansas into the Union as a slave State, under the Lecompton Constitution, or to keep her a Territory under the despotic control of the Slave Power.

7. Resolved, That in view of the facts and considerations embraced in the preceding resolutions, we are impelled to believe that the Federal Government has become the instrument of the slave oligarchy, and is destined to carry slavery into all the States, unless the friends of Liberty claim and take possession of it, and wield its power to "establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty" in all "the United States of America," for which the Constitution was ordained and established.

8. Resolved, That the most prominent question now before the people of this country, is the abolition of slavery, and the enfranchisement of the nominally free colored people; and it therefore behooves the Christian and the patriot to meet the question fairly, and to discharge their duty in reference to it, in such a manner as immediately to remove the stain of slavery from our national escutcheon.

9. Resolved, That the action of the American Tract Society, is a further pledge of subjection to the slave power—treacherous to freedom and subversive of Christianity; that the history and result of the controversy in that society in relation to slavery is an other illustration of the impossibility of making any successful opposition to the corrupting influences and baneful effects of slavery, whether in Church or State, and without making distinct and uncompromising opposition to the iniquity of slaveholding.

10. Resolved, That as there is no authority in the Gospel of Christ for prescribing rules, on the duties and moral evils arising out of slavery, or any other system of iniquity, while slaveholders or other wrong-doers, are allowed to maintain such systems, unrebuked, it is unscriptural and unphilosophical to expect that sinners of any class can be brought to repentance and reformation by discussing the immorality of their conduct, while its inherent sinfulness in the sight of God is overlooked and unrebuked.

REV. HENRY H. GARNETT, Pastor of the Presbyterian church in Prince street, New York, was then introduced by the Chair, and delivered an able and eloquent address, in special reference to the eighth Resolution. As the reporters were not then in their seats, we are unable to present a sketch of his address.

After a few remarks by the Corresponding Secretary, a collection was taken in aid of the Society.

The choir and audience united in singing the version of the 72d Psalm, selected and read by Rev. Dr. CHEEVER, commencing:—

"Hail to the Lord's anointed," etc.

The Chair then announced that the next address would

"The right of property is before and higher than any Constitutional sanction, and the right of any owner of a slave to such slave, and its increase is the same, and is as inviolable as the right of any owner of any property whatsoever."

be from a gentleman who needed no introduction to the audience. Dr. CHEEVER, then, from his place in the pulpit, proceeded with great felicity of manner, and peculiar appropriateness, force and significance of elocution, to deliver the following address, which, as published from the manuscript, in the next morning's New York Tribune, we are enabled to present entire.

DR. CHEEVER'S SPEECH.

Mr. President: We are driven this day to God. Apart from His Word and His grace to make His Word effectual, and to keep it even in the hearts of His children from perversion, there is no hope in the heart of any political party, nor any Christian party, for the poor slave. We have seen that men of professed piety, men of age, eloquence, can plead the very authority of the Word of God for concealing and denying that Word; can call upon Christ to bear witness that their first Christian duty is to take down his light from the candlestick and to put it under a bushel; can deliberately, in the name of God, so pervert the salt of Christian truth as to make it nothing but an additional corrupting element on the dunghill of the world's corruptions. We have seen an eloquent Bishop with silver locks pleading for silence on the sin of slavery, and justifying the executive committee of the Tract Society, as possessing an indestructible negative against the instructions of their constituents, and in opposition to the will and Word of God, by virtue of being the managers of a great circumlocution office, the perfection of whose sagacity and strength is in the art, *How not to do it*. We cannot but remember the answer of God: "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin;" and the judgment of the Lord Jesus—"Inasmuch as ye did not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me."

We have also seen venerable and Christian men not shrinking to denounce the declaration that American slavery is sin, as ultra and inexpedient, and exposing the cause of righteousness to defeat and ruin. Paul rejoiced in his day, that he had not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God. The professed followers of Paul in our day do not shun to rebuke such declaration as fanatical and rash. Before such developments, were it not that our trust is in God, and not man, we should have no more any strength or life, or courage left in us. There is no hope apart from God's Word, and from the full and faithful application of it. There is wanting the element of conscientious, heartfelt, stubborn, eternal hostility against slavery as sin, as reprobated and forbidden of God in the same catalogue with lying, perjury, murder, whoremongering, piracy, man stealing and guilt, that by the law, not of God only, but man, is worthy of death. Where shall such an element be found? How shall it be created, quickened, trained? Not in the school of political self-seeking and expediency; not under obedience to fugitive slave laws not under proclamations, and assertions of allegiance to Dred Scott decisions: not in the school of unrighteous and oppressive statutes; not under the law of silence on the Word of God—silence in the pulpit—silence in the Tract House; but under the law of fire and thunder in the manifestation of the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God—by revealing the wrath of God from heaven against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, and against this stupendous iniquity, as foremost and most germinating in enormity and malignity, most sweeping and accumulating in the habits and materials of sin and misery, the elements and securities of national ruin. Our only hope is in the revived, living, faithful religion of a free, out-spoken, consistent church, and a fearless, unmuzzled, faithful ministry. Our only hope is in a conscience fastened to the Word of God, and a heart flaming with its sacred fire; a popular church and ministry, holding forth the word of life, and giving themselves up to its supremacy, in such an unrestricted abandonment of all things to its sovereignty, (not the popular sovereignty, but God's sovereignty), that it may have free course and be glorified.

The intensity of the plague with us, the exasperation and strength of the iniquity and the evil, are in the provisions for its perpetuity, and the insurances of its increase. Not content with enduring it ourselves for a

Copy to Rev. Dr. Cheever

generation, we have by law entailed it upon others; and the generations to come, as God distributes the consequences, must inevitably rise up and call each preceding generation accursed. If this sin had a possible death, like that of intemperance in the grave of the present drunkard, and were not propagated by a legal fatalism forbidding it to die out, or to be renounced, or the will to be broken—a legal fatalism and missionary zeal united, providing future victims for it in the fastest ratio of increase in human population—then would the evil be comparatively trifling, and the sin would speedily come to an end. But there is no such limit, no such natural consumption or wearing out, no such release by death; the evil and the sin are carefully secured against death, and injected, as the heart's blood, into the veins of the next generation, and any attempt to stop the process throws the whole system into convulsions.

We practice the iniquity upon children, innocent children, the natives of our own land, unbought, unsold, unpaid for, without consultation or consent of father or mother, or the shadow of a permission from the Almighty; and they, the new-born babes of this system, are the compound interest, year by year, added to the sin and its capital, which thus doubles upon us in the next generation, and must treble in another. We make use of the most sacred domestic affections, of maternal, filial, and, I was going to say, connubial love—but the system forbids, and I have to say conubernal—for such rapid and accumulating production of the iniquity, as shall be in some measure adequate to the demand. The whole family relation, the whole domestic state, is prostituted, poisoned, turned into a misery-making machine for the agent of all evil. What God meant should be the source and inspiration of happiness, becomes the fountain of sin and woe. The sacred names of husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, babe, become the exponents of various forces and values in the slave-breeding institute. And the whole perfection, completeness, and concentration of this creative power in this manufacturing interest, descends like a trip hammer on the children, beating them from the birth into marketable articles, and stamping and sealing them as chattels, foredoomed and fatalized to run till they wear out, as living spindles, wheels, activities of labor and productiveness, in the same horrible system.

And each generation of immortal marketable stuff is as exactly fashioned in these grooves, molds, channels, wefted, netted, drawn through, to come out the invariable product, as the yards of carpeting are cut from the loom to be trodden on, or as the coins drop from the die for the circulation of society. This is the peculiarity of the sin of slavery in the foremost Christian country on the face of the earth. In this branch of native industry and manufacture we are self-reliant. Disavowing a protective policy in almost everything else, we are proudly patriotic for the security, superiority and abundance of this most sacred native product of domestic manufacture, and for neither the raw material nor the bleaching of it will we depend on any other country in the world.

This is the manner, these are the principles, on which we obey the precepts and fulfill the glories of the 72d Psalm. Instead of obeying God in delivering the children of the needy from deceit and violence, we foredoom them to all the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness, and the children of the oppressed with equity, we deliberately and solemnly give them over to oppression, as incapable of brotherhood and citizenship, and having no rights that white men are bound to respect. Instead of removing every yoke, we predestinate them for the yoke, and perpetuate the yoke for them, as a fixture prepared from the birth—the controlling, governing, supreme domestic law—the guiding institution and policy of the house, the State, the nation.

By thus laying our grasp on an unborn race; by saying beforehand to immortal beings, the work of the Creator, you cannot come into God's world but as infant slaves, articles of property and merchandise, but with a curse of our national justice and equity branding you for the slavepen and separating you from the manhood of all mankind; by this robbery from God and man we become a nation of men-stealers—a community of baptized Thugs for the kidnapping of the children of four millions of people, and the assassination of their personality.

If this were done now, for the first time, to a nation by themselves, if we made a descent upon Africa, China, India, or elsewhere, and carried off into hopeless slavery the children of four millions, the universe would utter a roar of terror and indignation at such a crime. But organize it into a system—make this robbery and moral assassination a fixture of law and policy from generation to generation, and set up its support as the watchword of a powerful political party, the test of faithfulness and patriotism, and the security of an unlimited command of the whole patronage of the United States Government, and forthwith the sanction and sustaining of it become the shining virtue of compromise and expediency, and he is the dangerous man and the madman in the community who undertakes to disturb this arrangement, or to agitate the conscience in regard to it. Forthwith it is no longer the sin that is regarded with astonishment and horror, but the denunciation of it as sin! It is no longer the perpetrators of such a crime, and its supporters, who are to be the objects of reproach and condemnation, but those who cause the truth to bear against the crime—those who call it by the name with which God has branded it, and visit it with the reprobation that God has laid upon it.

And especially the political world and the Pharisees of political churches stand in horror of the very bad spirit, the unchristian spirit of those who denounce this wicked-

ness with the direct application of the Word of God. It is a subject which must be excluded from the pulpit, because it is a sin enthroned in state, a political sin, to be treated only by political quacks, with political drenches, platforms, cataplasms and compromises, which the only duty of the church and the ministry is quietly to endorse and sanction, for the sake of peace.

The system of slavery is now at length asserted to be the chosen missionary institute of the Lord Almighty. And, admitting it to be such, we are certainly foremost of all the nations in carrying forward the great missionary work. If the appointed work to be done for the children of the needy is that of branding and training them as chattels and brute beasts for the market, we have no rivals in this honor. This is, in fact, the greatest, vastest, and most persevering missionary work that we perform. Our instrumentality in binding down in hopeless bondage the children of four millions of immortal beings, guilty of a skin not colored like our own, is our largest instrumentality, thus far, in the glories of the millennium.

By our laws providing that the slave and its increase shall be deemed and doomed our personal chattels forever, we constitute for them a millennium of sin and misery. We convert them into a community, in which it is impossible that the fundamental laws of Christianity should be recognized and obeyed, or the most commonly acknowledged and most sacred institutions of the Christian state be regarded. The laws of God for husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, children, cannot be applied, cannot be obeyed, in such a community. "Husbands love your wives," is a divine injunction. But for those most miserable outcasts of humanity, the American slaves, there can be no such law, but an admonition against it. God's claims, so expressed, interfere with man's property in man. Husbands, beware of imagining that you have any rights, any authority in regard to the chattels you are permitted to live with; beware of ever so loving them as to be unwilling to sacrifice them at a moment's warning, to the avarice, the need, or the passions of your owners. Ye are not permitted to love, but only in subjection to the price of the market, the necessities of your master, and the grand rule of your domestic institution, the slave and its increase.

Wives, be obedient to your husbands. What? Obedience from a chattel to a chattel? Wives ye are none, and this divine law belongs not to you, but for the profit of your masters. Your obedience and your increase belong to them, and to none else.

Children, obey your parents. But slaves have no children, and their children have no parents, except only as the bales of cotton have a parent in the gin and the factory, where they were shaped and bonded for the market. These commands and precepts are all and only for the masters, not the slaves. Slaves have no ties, no affections, no duties, no obligations, no belongings, but for their owners, whose property they are, and for whom and at their bidding every faculty, capacity, emotion, must be devoted, occupied, tasked, improved, sold at the highest premium to the highest bidder whenever, however and wherever the owner's interest requires it.

And it is not isolated beings that we devote thus, for a mere lifetime, to such degradation and cruelty, but we create a perpetual, unending and self-renewing spring of this wickedness. It is not a transitory shower of blistering drops that we cause to pass over the land, but an Artesian well that we sink of domestic shame and misery for future generations. In the Word of God it is said, referring to the glory and blessedness of the establishment of righteousness and freedom as the fundamental fixtures of society, if thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations. But we, by foredooming unborn children to the yoke, and preparing it for them, are securing a succession of curses and crimes, crimes and curses as the heritage of the social state. We have no more right to enact by law that the offspring of slaves shall be slaves, than we have to make a law that the offspring of the free whites shall be slaves. If such a law were passed in the State of New York, a law that the children of those engaged in manual labor should, from their birth, be taken and held as chattels to be bought and sold as the property of those capitalists for whom their parents have been laboring, could such a law sanction such a crime? Could it make it any other thing than man-stealing? Could it be pleaded that it is not man-stealing? What is it when these children grow up?

And if they have children, does the fact that their parents were stolen before them give the stealers of the parents any claim upon the next generation? Does the fact that their parents were stolen before them take away their rights as human beings, and turn the stealing of them into a natural and just claim of property? Nothing can transmit the right of theft; no law can sanction it; even if we had a right to steal the parents from themselves, this could give no right to steal the children from the parents and from God. This is the deep damnation of our guilt. The offence cries up to heaven. By stealing children from their birth, we are a nation of men-stealers, and we renew, perpetuate and increase the guilt from generation to generation. We perpetuate the sin and the cruelty upon five times the number that our ancestors did, and insure its being perpetuated by five times more, and then thank God for the success of this providential missionary institution.

The guilt is increasing, but all the while the conscience in regard to it is diminishing and being seared. The sin, by being enlarged in surface and in quantity, seems lessened in intensity. We are more guilty than our fathers in the practice of it, and yet we contrive to make

ourselves imagine that we are less guilty and more pious than they. The iniquity is a moral cancer that is eating at the very vitals of our piety, while the only treatment we tolerate is increased doses of chloroform till the whole system is stupefied under its influence. When a new outrage is committed, we just send to the apothecaries for more laudanum, or swallow, through our Representatives, a Lecompton drench and sweat, or suffer Congress to administer an English swindle. Never was a sick and groaning victim more completely at the mercy of unprincipled quacks. Every six months some new experiment of fraud, despotism, bribery, unprincipled and ignorant political surgery, and we are hauled and tossed about, and cut and skinned as if we were a dead body in the dissecting-room, and Congress nothing but a class of raw, head-strong, roaring medical students, with their knives in their hands and Dunglison's Anatomy in their pockets. The body does not wince, does not kick, does not even protest; and so they keep cutting and carving, no outrage as yet attempted being so monstrous as to have gone beyond the people's tame endurance.

Our iniquitous and cruel career against the African race came to its climax in the Dred Scott decision; for when iniquity takes the place of national law, and is enthroned in the tribunal of justice, it cannot well go higher; and now that decision, unresisted, uncorrected, is producing its fruits. It is like the star wormwood cast upon all fountains of waters, and men drink and die. Our public officials of justice and of policy, from the highest to the lowest, every time they are about to enact a new violence against the oppressed, only have to refer to the Dred Scott decision, and the basest, meanest, most detestable acts of fraud and cruelty are converted into righteousness.

From the Secretary of State down through files of marshalls, judges, bailiffs, lawyers, to the conductor of the street rail-car, the word passes, and the policy is established, and it is officially announced, and the judicial dictum is reverberated and applauded and applied, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect. This dictum is fast being welded into chains, into political precedents sealed and made sure, and snare after snare in the iron net is woven on by lies, by perversions of the Constitution and of history, by new measures of usurpation, unresisted by presumptuous, unauthorized interpretation of law, till the very breath of the black man is almost beaten out of his body, and he is refused the privilege of expanding his lungs in a Republican atmosphere. Our judges, cabinet ministers, attorneys, general and local, and secretaries of State are hunting up examples of old injustice, for precedents of new villainy. They thus set immorality and cruelty in the fountains of justice, infecting all its elements with death, just as vile assassins poison the wells of their neighbors by throwing dead dogs into them, or the carcasses of cats and skunks.

As God declared in a case fearfully similar, they have turned judgment into gall and wormwood, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock. They hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward, and the great man he uttereth his mischievous desire, and so they wrap it up. The best of them is as a brier—the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge—they trust in vanity and seek lies—they conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity—they hatch cockatrice's eggs, and weave the spider's web—they eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper. There is no judgment in their goings; they have made them crooked paths, speaking oppression, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood, so that judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off. They are never so happy as when they conceive absolute mischief, the dregs of profound social ignorance, prejudice, and depravity, framing mischief by a law which thenceforth they impose as the supreme political and moral state god. They set up the sin of slavery as law, enforce it by the Constitution under judicial opinions, to which they swear allegiance, and if they cannot discover precedents they make them.

The Secretary of State dares publicly to affirm that no black man ever received a passport, and cannot, as a citizen, receive one, and shall not. The Dred Scott decision has prepared this lid for the black man's living sepulchre, and Secretary Cass acts the undertaker for the body, and screws down the coffin with an incontrovertible falsehood. Then the Secretary of the Treasury declares that a free negro cannot receive a register for his own vessel, nor be a master of his own vessel, nor, as such, have any title to his own property by United States marine papers—for by the Dred Scott decision he is no citizen, and can be none, and to be the rightful owner and master of his own maritime property, a man must be a citizen. As he has none of the rights of a citizen, any seafaring man may own him, but he cannot himself be the owner of so much as a plank or a nail in his own vessel. Then comes on the heels of this outrage, the United States Land Commissioner, and from the General Land Office, with the same despotic authority under the same infernal act, declares that persons of color have no right of purchase and ownership in the public lands, that privilege also being restricted by positive law to citizens of the United States, or those that intend to become such—and by the Dred Scott decision a man with a colored skin neither is, nor can become, nor can without treason intend to become a citizen. So, by this decision, and these magisterial interpretations and enforcements of it, the human being with a skin not colored like our own is alienated and expelled from land and sea—is an exile everywhere, and even on the great highway of nations no better than a log,

or a snag, or a shred of drifting sea-weed, over which the keel of a Christian civilization plunges, with all on board grinning approbation of the cruelty. And certainly, if God's word be not thundered against such crimes, the church and the ministry do, by their silence, set the seal of a Christian approbation to all this. Our revivals of religion become accessory to it, if a fawning, cringing, whining piety, trembling in the fear of man, refuses to bear testimony against such wickedness.

And thus more and more the common heart and conscience are hardened against all remorse and repentance in such villainy, and each new administration of the slave power becomes the executor of some new and more atrocious scheme of fraud and tyranny, left in trust as a legacy by its predecessor. And men that have kept silent up to the present crisis, have had their capacity of dumbness, their grace of silence, thoroughly tried; they are indeed dumb dogs, that no provocation is likely to set to barking. If they have not yet spoken, they will forever hold their peace. What form of this wickedness can be transacted worse than the shapes in which it has already been enthroned and legalized? Would the open revival of the slave trade be any greater atrocity than the decision that a human being with a colored skin, though born in this country, and free born, and under the Government, cannot be a citizen of the United States, and has no rights that white men are bound to respect?

When this iniquity was, by this declaration and decision, publicly inaugurated in the supreme tribunal of national justice; when, in defiance of God's appointment and consecration of the judgment-seat for himself, this most astounding cruelty and robbery were proclaimed as the rule of national justice, by which men were let loose for all manner of villainy against a whole race of human beings, we imagined that the pulpit would have spoken out, if it never had before, in reprobation of an enormity in a Christian nation so atrocious, so unrivalled. The Sabbath after that prodigious judicial crime, it seemed as if the very Bibles would have burst open of their own accord, and that in living fires the lightning of God's Word would almost have burned its sentence on the walls, and hissed along the congregations. We thought that even men whose lips had been sealed up to that time would have broken that silence forever, and directed the thunders of divine truth against such fearful public enshrinement and enforcement of undissembled undisputed inhumanity and falsehood. Instead of that there was a tame and almost unquestioning acquiescence, and the men that did speak out were themselves denounced as mad accusers and revilers of God's appointed dignities. Instead of denouncing the sin, men, ministers and editors denounced the denunciation of it as the greatest sin. It had come to pass literally, as in the 59th chapter of Isaiah, that judgment was turned away backward, and justice stood afar off, for truth was fallen in the street and equity could not enter. Yea, truth faileth, and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey; and the Lord saw it, and it displeased Him that there was no judgment.

If ever the Church and the ministry were going to speak out, it should have been then; and if not then, I do not know that any revival of religion, on the same principles, of the same type, will produce utterance. But the calamity to a nation, when the church and ministry are thus unfaithful to their trust, is not to be computed; nor, on the other hand, is the blessing to a nation possible to be measured, when it has a church and ministry that it cannot corrupt nor silence. The church is God's own enshrinement among a people of the living sense of right and wrong, the perception of God's claims and the sensibility to them; and where that sensibility is vivid among the people, there is always the knowledge of their own rights and the spirit to defend them. But where that sensibility to sin and God's claims dies out, where the church does not apply God's Word against sin, there both the conscience towards God and the spirit of liberty are debauched and wasted, and the nation ripens for destruction. Even the most fatal oppression, the most vital injuries are not felt or are submitted to, with servile endurance.

Can we go any lower, any deeper, than the Dred Scott decision and its consequences? The disease, like a run of typhus fever, reached its lowest stage. Will there be a reaction of nature towards health? Is there strength enough? At this point does conscience act under the Word of God? At this point is the word of God being applied? The Divine Spirit is present, as a power of individual salvation, but still, under habitual indifference, there may be a palsy of the conscience in regard to this sin. An individual was met recently by a friend, who asked him how it was with him, and he said he had been busy all winter in the revival, and was at a morning prayer-meeting every morning at 6 o'clock. In the course of the conversation he was asked how he felt in regard to the iniquity going on in Congress. Oh, said he, I don't trouble myself about that at all; and as long as I and my family get enough to eat and to drink, Congress may do what they choose; I have no concern about it. Now of what possible avail can be whole churches of such Christians, or what effect can tuns of such piety have upon the morals of the community, or how will revivals of religion reach the sins of the nation, if piety is content with eating and drinking, and attendance at 6 o'clock morning prayers, while the nation marches steadily to wrath and ruin?

If the Church at large are under such infatuation, then indeed the nation is ready to perish; for the Church is the salt of the earth, the conscience of the nation, and if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? If the conscience of the Church is corrupted and dark-

ened, the nation has no means of knowing its own evils, and may be far advanced toward irremediable destruction. The conscience of the Church is the only conscience that pretends to be guided by the Word of God, and by that Word a living conscience of the Church and ministry must be the nation's watchman.

One of the darkest and most distressing symptoms in the progress of this iniquity is the insensibility of the popular conscience under outrages that we once supposed, if ever any approximation to them were perpetrated, were even attempted, would set the nation in a blaze. Even Mr. Webster used to talk of the danger of experiments upon the conscience of the country, but we find no hazard attending them. Outrage after outrage is quietly endured, till the people become accustomed to be trampled on, and conscience utters no remonstrance. A fearful paralyzing power, a spell of stupefaction, an insensibility unto death, is on the nation; and the Church and the ministry that ought to act as the nation's conscience, are drugged and possessed with the devil of silence. So that the people are not arrested, not alarmed, not made sensible what Satan's work is being accomplished upon them. This is a fearful treason against God and His Word, a terrible betrayal of principle.

It is as if the nerves of sensation in our system refused to warn us of injury by the sense of pain, so that, as under the power of chloroform, our bodies might be hacked and maimed, and we not aware of it; as in a drunken stupor, a man might be fatally burned and not know it until too late. So if the Church and the ministry, being God's sentinels to the nation, are bribed or drugged into silence, the nation by such treachery will be fatally ruined ere it is aware, and will utterly perish in its own corruption. Yet still, we talk of the world's conversion, and here in these anniversaries we drive all the multifold machinery of the societies we have set in motion, while every day our very power to manage and to keep them from the villainy of our own example grows less, and we go boasting of our health and strength and prosperity, with this terrific disease, under which we may be staggering as a drunken man upon the very last verge of God's endurance.

The indulgence, maintenance, protection and defense of this sin, is the one great obstacle against the missionary influence and work. It cripples us, it manacles our energies, it palsies our efforts. We are in the condition of a man whose whole left side is paralyzed, so that all the strength and life of the right side are occupied and tasked with keeping the palsied half of the body from falling. We are like a man indulging in the use of ardent spirits to a degree just bordering continually on intoxication, so that all the soberness left is but just sufficient to keep him out of the gutter. We are unfit for God's work for overcoming the idolatry of the nations, while we are in slavish subjection to the worship of this Moloch at home. And this is the upshot of all our splendid training, all our vast gifts from God, all our preparations by truth, providence, and grace, for the world's deliverance from sin and Satan! Is it such an agency, or the instrumentality of such a people, that can be relied upon for the world's conversion? Eighteen hundred years Christ crucified has been known and preached on earth, as a righteous Judge and Saviour for the poor and needy, the oppressed, and the children of the needy, and yet, in these last days, and in the nation now vaunted as the foremost Christian nation upon the face of the globe, the iniquity of Slavery itself has been revived and maintained as the missionary agency and institution of the Gospel! And all this comes from hiding instead of revealing that divine light which is the light of the world, which is the disclosure and destruction of sin, but being withheld leaves the world in darkness, and the church to be the nursing mother of the world's abominations. As in the absence of the solar light there is nothing but a cellar vegetation, and the nourishing and running wild and free of monsters that shun the light and love the darkness, so in the absence or concealment of God's Word, a sickly, pallid, bloodless sentimentalism of compromise and expediency takes the place of vigorous, virtuous life, and gigantic forms of iniquity breed and thrive. The tremendous despotism of slavery is the result of the policy of silence in the churches, silence in the pulpit, silence of the ministry, the delaying and withholding of the Word of God.

Where can such things end, if continued? And if the conscience of the people is not reached and roused, what hope is there that the wickedness of the Government will ever be arrested? They will go just as far as the people will let them—for their conscience is always lower and more insensible than that of the people, but never higher. The conscience of the people is the last defense of Liberty—the last element of righteous power. If the conscience of the people can be set right, then there is hope in God. If they disavow and throw off this iniquity, God will not lay it to their charge; but if they do not resist it, God will certainly visit it upon them; he will let them be destroyed by it. They have sown the wind—they shall reap the whirlwind.

Here, then, are demonstrated the responsibility and duty of the church and the ministry, as God's appointed instrumentality for training and awakening the conscience of the people. How can national sins be reached in any other way? And how in this way, except only by the Word of God, which is the sole instrument in the hands of the Spirit of God to convince the world of sin? And how is the Word of God to be applied, except by the ministry, sustained by the church for this purpose, and on the Sabbath, when God gathers the people beneath its hearing and its power! The whole salvation of our country—the whole possibility of redemption from the sin of Slavery—rests on this question: Will the church

and the ministry be faithful? Will the ministry be faithful to God? Will the church uphold and protect the ministry in such faithfulness? The ministry must speak out, and speak with a will, with a purpose, with a perseverance and continued pressure on the conscience.

The ministry must speak to move the country—not merely to relieve their own consciences, to clear their own skirts by a quiet declaration of opinion, or to enter a protest and then retire. The ministry can move the country, but not by resolutions in Associations or in General Assemblies, while the pulpit is as silent as the grave. There is no courage whatever, and there may be very little faithfulness, in framing resolutions which may be but an anodyne to the conscience—a dispensation from ever preaching on the subject. There are no general resolutions in the New Testament to stand in the place of pulpit faithfulness in the applications of God's Word; but the rule was always, and everywhere, to renounce the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the Word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And again, We were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God with much contention, and as we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel, so we speak, not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts.

Now the Word of God is for aggression and conquest, and not a compromise, with sin. The Word of God is a park of artillery—a swift-rushing mountain of thunders and lightnings against sin, to overcome it and get it out of the world, and not a mere protest to save your own credit. The Word of God is to be thundered forth by the ministry for the discomfiture of this great villainy and impiety in the judgment seat, and in the legislature, and in the sin of man-stealing, and this is to be done in reliance upon God, and at his command, that the nation may be brought to repentance, may cry out, like any other sinners, Men and brethren, what shall we do? and may be redeemed from this mighty iniquity. It is manifest that this requires an attention to it on the part of the Church and the ministry, and a space for it in the Sabbath, and a proclamation of God's truth in regard to it, such as never has been given—never has been made. This work is yet to be done, and the power and glory of the Old Testament, the intense fires of God's love of justice, and his wrath against injustice and oppression, the forked and chain lightnings of the prophets, and the thunderbolts of Hebrew history, are yet to be shot upon this nation's sins. Who dare do it, but a ministry commissioned of God, and illuminated and inspired by his Spirit? Who can do it but they only? Whose appropriate business is it, to do this but theirs, and what is the duty of the Church but to support and protect them in doing this? And when and how can they do this, except on the Sabbath—their day, God's day, for instructing, reproving, and calling the world to repentance?

It is not a mincing, delicate, light notice of this iniquity that God requires, or the broad, hardened, braze, unblushing abominations of the Government and the people demand, but a reiterated, reverberated, loud thundering of God's truth. It is very easy to say a soft, apologizing word now and then in regard to it, and excite no anger, no disturbance, and do no good, rouse no man's conscience; and not a few, in what they do say or intimate on such a subject, seem to be begging pardon of the congregation for such a painful allusion, instead of uttering God's voice fearlessly, grandly, and declaring, Thou art the man!

In this matter, Christ's dividing rule is true, He that is not for me is against me. If men will not now speak out and act against Slavery, their voice and influence are in favor of it. If the ministers of the Gospel, instead of the policy of silence, and poured out their vials, as God's commissioned angels, and let the thunders, lightnings and earthquakes shake the heavens and the earth, this iniquity would long since have been arrested. It is only under the repression and enforced silence of the Word of God that it has been able to advance with such giant strides, till it has taken possession of the Senatorial, Representative, Executive and Judicial branches of our Government.

Now Satan will never cast out Satan, and this iniquity is to be stayed and turned back only by the Word of God and by the Church and ministry being faithful to that Word. "If they had stood in my counsel, says Jehovah, and had caused my people to hear my words, then they should have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings." Just so now. But this great and mighty result of repentance for sin is not to be got at by silence in regard to the sin; and they who keep silent in a time of temptation and trial do, in fact, defend and daub the sin with untempered mortar. They may say that they are good Anti-Slavery men, as much opposed to this iniquity as any one; but their silence gives consent, and carries them over into the ranks of the enemy. Their pretensions of Anti-Slavery principle are, indeed, excellent, if the principle itself could be got at for use. They say it is in them, *in esse*, as the diamond is in carbon; and so, indeed, every lump of charcoal, could it speak, might say, "I am a diamond—do not treat me as if I were merely a piece of charred wood. In potential essence, the diamond is in my nature."

Ah, yes, my good friend, and if you would only tell me how I may bring it out, and keep it in the form of diamond—how I may catch the essence, and make it stay put—you will make my fortune. But, alas, the world will never see any thing in you but charcoal! Your diamond nature does not speak out; your charcoal does.

Just so, there are many in the ministry who will be much offended if you tell them they are not opposed to Slavery—therefore, in effect, defend it. They will affirm

that, in potential essence, the abhorrence of Slavery is in them, though they do not go to the extreme of ever speaking against it.

Ay, and the very difficulty is, that it never makes itself known except by a most potential silence. It is as silent and invisible as the diamond is in the charcoal, or the light in a mass of solid anthracite. On this principle there is not a dark subterranean coal mine, or bed, or pit, in existence, but what is a region of brilliant, glorious light; but, unfortunately, it needs a great many manipulations of science, a great many torturing processes of art, and operations of fire and water, to extract the material of light, and put it in shining order.

And just so with not a few, who should be lights in the ministry, but are rather like invisible, unsmelted native ores. If they might be subjected to the necessary roastings and smeltings and purifications, and the Word of God extracted from them in visible, glorious form and shape, confronting and exposing the gross and damning features of this sin, then indeed it would be a powerful and conquering testimony. But what is principle good for if not to come forth in action in the time of trial, if not to withstand temptation, to rebuke iniquity, and protect the weak and down-trodden from the wicked and the strong? What is the worth of silent, inactive, concealed principle, whole acres of it, what better than treachery, or salt that has lost its savor, and is not fit even for a dunghill? What is the worth of a million candles, each hidden under its own bushel? What is the light of the Christian Church and the Christian ministry given for, but to be the light of the world? If it is hidden from the world out of fear, out of a selfish expediency, it is darkness; and if the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!

It makes us think of the recent discovery that every cubic mile of ocean contains more than two pounds weight of solid silver. How potential! It makes the mouth of a miser water; but he is forced to think, If I could only get at it! Oh, thou mine of incalculable wealth! Two million tons of solid silver in the Atlantic! Ye potential, silvery waves, if I could but evoke, by some concentrated, irresistible chemistry, your hidden riches!

Ay, but there's the rub. 'Tis of no more use to you than the commonest puddle of sea-water; whole leagues of it, nay the all-surrounding ocean, at your command, of no more value than the smallest secluded nook before your own cottage on the East River. And just so, a whole cubic mile of such Anti-Slavery ministers with sealed lips, or as many as could stand together in the dry bottom of the ocean, would be of no use whatever with their principles of liberty that never speak out—their upright hearts, but silent tongues and pulpits. They are upright as the palm-tree, but they speak not; and because of their own policy of silence, they hate him that rebuketh in the gate; they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth, and, in consequence of their silence and conservative influence, the few that do speak out seem extravagant and eccentric, and are marked as madmen or fanatics; they become objects of derision, as noticeable as poor Christian and Faithful were in passing through Vanity Fair—simple, innocent creatures who said, We buy the truth. Truth! Go to the Tract House!

But the truth is not only unpopular and inexpedient on such a subject as the sin of Slavery, but exceedingly dangerous. It is not proper to be brought into the pulpit, nor mentioned on the Sabbath—that sacred day of rest, when every irritating and disturbing theme should be kept far aloof from the Sanctuary and from our hearts, for we come to the Church to be comforted, and political preaching is an outrage on our feelings, and a desecration of the day of God; and preaching on the sin of Slavery is political preaching, and if you preach such preaching, it offends the pew-owners, and drives away the people from the Church, and prevents them from hiring pews, and diminishes our revenues, so that, if you preach such preaching, the best interests of the Church and society require that we should unsettle you.

Well done, Simon Magus! There you stand; unveil your face, step forth into the light; only avow that you buy your minister, and use him, or lay him on the shelf, just as you would a case of umbrellas or a bale of silk, that you settle him for pew-revenues, and that your pulpit is up at auction to the highest bidder for the man who will insure you the greatest sum total of pew-rentals, and your power is at an end. The statement of such things is enough to make a by-word and a hissing. You never can get the people to admit that the final end of God's Word is just simply to keep the finances of a society above water, or as a locomotive to drag them up-hill. God's Word is given for edifying and saving souls, and not merely building temples and paying for them. And the ministers of God's Word, if called to preach in Nineveh and fleeing to Tarshish, will not much longer find the churches to be mere packet ships, in which they can snugly sleep out the storm, and pay their passage by concealing their mission.

Concealment is not the law of God's Word, but MANTIFICATION, and in times of danger and of treachery, you are compelled to vary the ordinary law of God's Word, as rains and gentle showers, and to come down in a perfect cataract, as if all the windows of heaven were opened, and the fountains of the great deep broken up. We may learn something here from our colored brethren. During the war of our Revolution, it is said that a particular important point of his lines, Washington found his sentinels, night after night, picked off by a party that could not be detected. At length he committed the care of that point to a sagacious, trusty negro, on service in the army; a negro citizen (let Secretary Cass mark it) was

particularly trusted by Washington. He told him the nature of the danger, and bade him have all his wits about him, remembering the watchword, if any suspicious movement was before him, which was to call out, Who goes there? three times, and then fire. The faithful, keen-witted negro reflected and made up his mind. Past midnight his watchful ear caught the stealthy advance of the enemy, and just waiting long enough to be sure of his aim, he levelled his gun, and called out, in one sentence, at one breath, Who goes dere tree time? and then fired. The foe was shot and discovered, the alarm given, and the post saved. Sometimes we must thus concentrate, and give the warning and the shot in the same movement; not here a little and there a little, but all at once, and blow after blow followed up so rapidly, that neither compromise nor retreat shall be possible.

Dr. Cheever's speech was listened to with profound attention, and was frequently interrupted with applause. At its conclusion a gentleman rose in the audience, and after speaking in complimentary terms of the address of Dr. Cheever, he moved that it be published by the Society.

The motion was carried.

Frederick Douglas then took the stand. He thanked the audience for the privilege of standing before them again to give his declarations against Slavery. He had felt while Dr. Cheever was addressing the audience a feeling of sadness. He had felt when quite a child that if the pit of human bondage could be uncapped, the nation would arise and blot it out forever. He had thought of the defiant attitude of the Slave power in Church and State now. But after hearing the thunder and lightning this afternoon, his depression had been dispelled, and he had thought that if there had been one thousand pulpits which would thus speak the truth for six months, the whole work would be sure of accomplishment.

He thanked God for Dr. George B. Cheever. Hope again had sprung into his heart, and he hoped that all present would identify themselves with the Radical Abolitionists, who, while they denied that the Bible sustained slavery, also denied that the Constitution of the United States sustained it. His Abolitionism meant the breaking of chains in the South. The slave power must be put down for this purpose—not to free the North, and give the North ascendancy in the Government. He was astonished at the slowness of action in the recognition of these truths. What was the truth and simple fact at the bottom of this movement? It was that every human being belonged to himself, owned his own body, and if he ran away with his own body, and left everybody else's body, it was of no business to anybody. (Laughter.)

The Tract Society had not, and could not recognize this fundamental principle. Dr. Cheever had spoken of that body as a Christian mob. But he did not know how men who would clutch the smiling infant in the cradle, and rob it of its God-given rights could be coupled with the name of Christ in any way. [Applause.] They did not and could not comprehend the magnitude of the sin of slavery. Deprived of the rights of family, marriage and education, their life was one of an entire abnegation of self-hood.

The doctors of divinity who spoke under the crack of the slavedriver's whip, knew well that slavery was a sin. The names of those men should be coupled with infamy, that they may be shamed out of their position. In conclusion, Mr. Douglass said that he should watch with interest the effect of Dr. Cheever's address.

The Resolutions presented near the commencement of the meeting were then adopted. Another collection was, on motion, taken up, to assist in publishing the address of Dr. CHEEVER, by whom, on adjournment, the meeting was dismissed, with a benediction.

Mr. De Bow, the great Southern statistician, economist, and defender of the "patriarchal" faith, has distinctly declared himself in favor of giving up our republican forms of government altogether, and substituting monarchy instead. Very consistent—very sagacious—very opportune—and quite in keeping with the course of the Administration and its supporters. Wonder whether this is to be the next new item in the creed of "the party," and made a test of sound "national democracy." It ought to be, by all means. The constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government must either be got rid of, or it must rid the country of slavery.

"The Churchman," a religious paper in this city, of the Episcopal sect, is out in defense of the re-opening of the African slave trade. It does this, in a laudatory review of an atrocious pamphlet on the subject, by "A New York Merchant."

Radical Abolitionist.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1858.

THE MAY ANNIVERSARY.

Our expectations were more than realized. A select and full audience from all parts of the country were in attendance, evidently expecting much, from our programme. They were not disappointed, except as they found more than they had anticipated. Mr. Garnett did well, as he always does. Frederick Douglass, too, was not below his high reputation, while he spoke, but was brief, for lack of time, and, as we thought, from fulness of heart, under the overwhelming outpouring to which we had all been subjected. To call Dr. Cheever's effort a masterly one, is to use common language for what was uncommon. Many, who had known him only in print, and had admired him, now heard and saw him for the first time, and seemed electrified. The audience were taken by storm. The rain fell in torrents, the hail-stones roared, the lightnings gleamed, the thunderbolts fell in thick succession. Sinai was altogether covered with smoke, and we heard the voice out of the fire. It was a day to be long remembered, and it *will* be. A blow was struck which will yet be felt in every servile and silent pulpit in the non-slaveholding States.

Our readers, we suppose, will understand that this May Anniversary, in the midst of other New York May Anniversaries, was *not* the regular Annual Meeting of the American Abolition Society for choosing officers, and transacting business, which takes place in the autumn. Hence, there was no Annual Report, nor Treasurer's Report, and only one afternoon session, for public speaking.

"DR. CHEEVER'S GREAT SPEECH,"

Which will be found in our columns, has appeared in the *Daily* and *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, and in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.—We are publishing it in pamphlet and in tract forms. (See advertisement.) Send on your orders.

It will be found that the covered pamphlet (of 16 octavo pages) is exceedingly cheap at the price advertised. The object is to enable abolitionists to place a *handsome copy* in the hands of many of their friends, clergymen and others.

A copy should be sent to every religious teacher in the land.

THE DOUBLE EXPERIMENT WORKED OUT.

Since our last monthly issue, two long pending experiments—in essence, but one—have reached their crisis, have matured, have culminated, have received their final decision.

The experiment in both its phases was, to try whether the inroads, the corruptions, the abominations, the cruelties, the aggressions, the "abuses" of the slave system, of the slave Power, could be arrested, could be limited, could be exorcised, could be rolled back, and be successfully resisted by any process short of a direct and vigorous onset against slavery itself, against the longer tolerance of slaveholding, its denunciation as a sin, its suppression as a crime.

Two distinct phases of the experiment, two distinct arenas of conflict, two distinct classes of combatants, for and against, have been simul-

taneously witnessed—the religious and the political, in the Church and in the State. Quite analogically, the two experiments have been moving forward, side by side. Quite appropriately, the results of each have been ascertained within a few days of each other—the one in the halls of Congress at Washington, the other at the New York May Anniversaries—the one, in the triumph of the pro-slavery Democracy, through the passage of the English or Conference Lecompton bill, the other in the kindred triumph of the pro-slavery administration of the American Tract Society.

In the one, the policy of the Republican party as set forth in its platforms, its leading journals, including the N. Y. Tribune, and as exemplified by its Senators and Representatives in Congress, the policy of opposing the effects of slavery without opposing slavery itself, has sustained a signal defeat. In the other, the policy of those in the religious world who have sought to bring the American Tract Society into the work of opposing the evils incident to slavery without asking it to oppose slavery itself, the policy advocated by Rev. Leonard Bacon, Rev. Joseph Thompson and the New York Independent, has sustained a defeat equally signal. In both cases, alike, the experiment of half-way measures has proved a failure. Neither in the political nor religious world has there been found any efficient way of grappling with the evil consequences of slavery, while slavery itself was left undisturbed.

Is there nothing to be learned of this duplicate experiment? Will it not hereafter be seen, by all earnest and intelligent men, that no alternative is left them, but to submit tamely to all the inroads, corruptions, abominations, cruelties, aggressions, and "abuses" of slavery, or to put a speedy end to the existence of slavery itself—to put an end to slaveholding.

Let radical abolitionists be up and doing. The day of shams is passing away. Temporizing experiments and expedients are becoming stale and tiresome. Were it for nothing else than to break the monotony, and to get up something sufficiently earnest to be interesting, there would have to be a change, soon.

THE EXPERIMENT WORKED OUT, IN CONGRESS.

In our April number we recorded the particulars of the passage of the Kansas Lecompton bill by the Senate, after having rejected Mr. Crittenden's proposed amendment, for submitting the Lecompton [pro-slavery] Constitution to the vote of the citizens of Kansas, for their acceptance or rejection—also, the passage of a corresponding bill in the House, with the substance of the Crittenden amendment—the disagreement of the Senate with the House bill, as thus amended, and their anticipated proposal to the House for a Committee of Conference. The sequel, though known to most of our readers, we will here recapitulate and record in a few words, for future reference.

The Conference proposed by the Senate, was accepted by the House. From that day, the Administration party were confident of success, in some form. A committee was appointed, consisting of members of both Houses, and on both sides of the question. Mr. English, representative from Indiana, a Douglas democrat, was Chairman. He succeeded, at length, in reporting, on the behalf of a majority of the committee, a bill pretending to be a compromise, which, after some emendation, was finally passed, April 30, in both Houses; in the Senate, by a vote of 30 to 22, in the House of Representatives, by a vote of 112 to 103,

a number of Douglas democrats voting in its favor, though Mr. Douglas himself and some others with him, stood their ground.

By this bill, it is proved that a vote shall be taken by citizens of Kansas, to decide whether or no they will accept—[NOT the Constitution itself, but] a certain part of the bill appropriating to Kansas, a large slice of land, from the national domain. If they accept of that land, then it is to be understood that Kansas is to come into the Union, as a sovereign State, under the Lecompton Constitution. But if they reject the land then, instead of coming into the Union, as a State, the bill provides that Kansas shall remain a Territory until it shall have one hundred thousand inhabitants, more than double its present number. So Congress says she has inhabitants enough to come in, as a slave State, but not half enough to come in as a free State! And there were northern "Democrats" enough voting for this, to turn the scale and enact the bill!

Whether this bill does or does not "submit the Constitution to the vote of the citizens of Kansas" is a disputed question, on which neither the friends, nor the opponents of the bill are unanimous, some of each party saying it does, and some saying it does not. Our own understanding of the bill is, that it allows the citizens to vote for the adoption of the Constitution, but not for its rejection. We have no doubt that if a majority of the citizens of Kansas, should vote not to accept the grant of land, it will then be held by the Administration, that no vote at all has been taken on the Constitution, but that it remains in full force, as before, to be the Constitution of Kansas, whenever she comes in, at all. At all events, the bill is at once an insult and an infamous bribe.

And this is all the Republicans in the House have gained by throwing away their professed principles, by exchanging their own platform for that of Senator Douglas, by striking their own flag of "No slavery North of 36 deg. 30 min." and raising the "squatter sovereignty" flag of the Kansas Nebraska bill, against which they argued and voted in the Presidential campaign of 1856.

So much for holding moral PRINCIPLE in abeyance, in order to be "practical business men!" Surely, "the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." Whenever "Bible politics" come in fashion, all such wise folly will be out of date.

"The old veteran Giddings, in a letter of recent date has the following with reference to the vote on the Crittenden amendment in the House. There are few members who do not now think it had been better to have stood firmly on the Republican position and met the Lecompton fraud by a direct vote, than to have adopted the Compromise."—*Wisconsin Free Democrat*.

"Even the acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution would have been preferable to this contemptible device of fraud and treachery."—*N. Y. Evening Post*.

"The original Lecompton bill had at least this merit—it assumed to be a finality. Kansas might upset or transform the Constitution thereby imposed on her, but Congress was precluded from again meddling with the subject. But this English bill does not even pretend to be final. The strong probability is that this will keep Kansas out at least two years longer."—*N. Y. Tribune*.

We might quote to the same purport, a dozen more Republican Journals, most of whom, like the Times, the Post, and the Tribune, had, within a few weeks lauded, as sagacious, and practical, wisely removed from every thing like ultraism and extravagance, the policy of passing the bill with the Crittenden amendment, a policy which has given us the "English" juggle, instead of the original Senate bill. By the Senate bill the supervision of the Kansas elections was equally divided between the two appointees of the administration, and two Territorial officers elected by the people of Kansas. By the English or Conference bill "a fifth Commissioner was added, in the person of another Federal office holder, the United States District Attorney" and the late incumbent has been dismissed and a Southern man appointed in his place giving Mr. Buchanan the control of ballot box, in the Territory.

THE EXPERIMENT WORKED OUT IN THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

In order to a correct understanding of the problem worked out at the late Anniversary of the American Tract Society, it will be needful to bear in mind a few facts already in possession of most of our readers. That Society, it will be remembered, has perseveringly declined to publish anything against slavery, even expunging from the common religious literature of our language, whatever, in a book or tract they desired to publish, could be construed as being offensive to slaveholders.—Against this policy, a portion of the members of the Society demurred. But instead of demanding, as they should have done, a direct and straightforward application of the truths of God's word, and the doctrines held in common by "all evangelical Christians" against the specific and aggravated sin of slaveholding, as sin, and calling on all involved in this sin immediately to repent of it and forsake it, as "all evangelical Christians" do, in the case of all other sins, they took, as they thought, the more safe and "practical" course of asking only that the Society should publish against what are called the "evils" of slavery, the "abuses" growing out of it. At the head of this movement stood such men as Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven; Rev. Joseph Thompson, D. D., of New York; Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia; &c. The *N. Y. Independent* has been prominent as an organ and pioneer of this movement.

At the Annual Meeting in May, 1856, a Committee of fifteen was appointed to consider the subject, and report at the next Annual Meeting. In May, 1857, this Report was presented, recommending the adoption of a Resolution:

"That the political aspects of slavery lie entirely without the proper sphere of this Society, and cannot be discussed in its publications, but that those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote, and which are condemned in Scripture, and so much deplored by evangelical Christians, undoubtedly do fall within the province of this Society, and can and ought to be discussed in a fraternal spirit."

This Resolution was said, at the time, to have been unanimously adopted, but at the late Annual Meeting (1858) it was claimed that a few of the members, not approving it, suffered it to pass *nem con*, without voting. It was also claimed that this action was understood, at the time, to be a "compromise," this Resolution having been followed by another, expressing great confidence in the Publishing Committee, and trusting that their course would be so in accordance with the Constitution of the Society, to publish nothing not "calculated to meet the approbation of all evangelical Christians," as to harmonize them in all parts of the country.

On the Publishing Committee was Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., an open apologist of slaveholding; and since nothing can be published without the unanimous approval of the Committee, the conservatives in the Society rightly judged that there could be no great danger in adopting the preceding Resolution, in such a connexion.

The event justified their expectations. Nothing on the subject was published. A Tract had been previously prepared on the "Scriptural Duties of Slaveholders, comprising a Pastoral Address of Rt. Rev. Bishop Meade, D. D., of Virginia, a Sermon of Rev. J. C. Young, D. D., of Kentucky," and several others. This tract did not condemn slaveholding, but only the ill treatment of slaves, the neglect of giving them religious instruction, &c. Nevertheless, in consequence of remonstrances from the slaveholders, even this Tract was suppressed!—Of course the Committee rejected also a Tract on "The Family Relation as affected by Slavery," by Charles K. Whipple, for which a premium of \$200 had been awarded by a Committee consisting of Pres. Wayland and Rev. Dr. Clark, of R. I., C. Stoddard, Esq., of Massachusetts, and Rev. D. Brown, D. D., of Scotland, and which had been

ferred to the Publishing Committee. This was a tract against Slavery.

The course of the Publishing Committee drew out much discussion in the papers, particularly in the New York Independent. Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., of Albany, one of the Committee of fifteen, wrote a Letter which appeared in the papers in which he regretted that the Tract on the "Scriptural duties of slaveholders" had not been published. "It was a golden opportunity of harmonizing everything, unwisely lost. It would have satisfied the North and the South." With this "the very foremost of those who had censured the Society's course, would be entirely satisfied."—"There had been no attempt to abolitionize the Society in any sense" or to "convert it into a great anti-slavery agency." It was only desired, and had been voted that the Society should publish, in a kind and Christian manner, on the known and universally acknowledged evils and duties connected with slavery as it is, *saying nothing of the legal relation itself.*

A perfect parallel to the platform and policy of the Republican policy of the Republican party—equally plausible, equally fallacious, equally impracticable.

The Administration of the Tract Society found, as the Federal Administration, had also found, that no such middle ground was defensible or practicable, or would be tolerated by the slaveholders. One side or the other, the two Administrations, civil and religious, had to take, and they both took the same side, the side of the slaveholders.

Such was the state of things when the late Annual Meeting of the Society was held for the election of Officers, and action on the Annual Report, &c.—Preparatory to this, a meeting of members opposed to the course of the Publishing Committee was held, for consultation respecting the course to be pursued. Mr. Lewis Tappan proposed the following Resolution:

Resolved, That the American Tract Society be empowered and required to print and circulate without unnecessary delay, a tract against the sinfulness of American slavery.

This was opposed by Rev. Dr. Bacon. In the course of the debate, Rev. Dr. Cheever said, "The Tract Society must be an Abolition Society, if it did its duty to God." Rev. S. S. Jocelyn also sustained the Resolution of Mr. Tappan. Rev. Dr. Hawes thought it not best to ask the Society to say slaveholding is a sin. "He regarded it an ultra sentiment, that would only insure defeat." Dr. Cheever protested strongly against this. Mr. Tappan's Resolution received only four votes, and Resolutions were adopted re-affirming the platform of the year previous. Some discussion took place concerning the re-election of the old officers, and Rev. Dr. Bacon, (in allusion to a statement that had been made, that one of the Secretaries, Mr. Stevenson, had been opposed to the publication of the Tract on the "Duties of Slaveholders," because it implied or taught the innocence of slaveholding,) said that he should, on that account, be willing to have his name left off from the list of Officers. We do not learn that he made any objection to retaining Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams. Thus much for preliminaries.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

Took place on Wednesday, May 12th. There was a large attendance, and the debate was an exciting one.

The annual Report was read by Rev. Dr. Wm. Adams, of New York, who moved its acceptance,—which included an approbation of the course of the Publishing Committee. This was advocated by Bishop McIlvaine, Dr. Bethune, and others. Dr. Tyng proposed to approve the Report without censuring the committee, but wished to re-affirm the action of the last year. This was voted down; the report was adopted; the committee approved; and the old officers re-elected,—thus wiping out all the action of the Society the year previous.

REJECTED RESOLUTIONS.

In the course of the proceedings, the following resolutions were voted down or tabled, viz:

1. By Rev. Dr. Tyng, as above noticed, namely,

Resolved, That the said resolution be and is hereby reaffirmed; and that the Executive Committee, now to be elected, be instructed to carry the same into full effect.—*Rejected.*

2. By Hon. Judge Jessup. A renewal of Rev. Dr. Tyng's, in nearly the same words, but with a preamble.—*Rejected.*

3. By Rev. Dr. Thompson,

Resolved, That while the Society accept without question the statements of the Publishing Committee of their reasons for delaying to publish any new tract, in accordance with the fourth resolution adopted last year, yet inasmuch as there is now issued by the Society a tract instructing servants in their duties, the Committee be instructed to publish a tract on the duties of masters, according to the New Testament.—*Rejected.*

This vote was after Dr. Thompson had read extracts from the tract, "Sambo and Toney," which showed that it teaches the duties of slaves to their masters, in a manner plainly implying the rights of slaveholding. The tract is still issued by the Society.

4. By John Jay, Esq.,

Resolved, That nothing issued by the Publishing Committee, should express or imply the Christian lawfulness of the system of American slavery.—*Rejected.*

5. By Prof. Howard Crosby,

Resolved, That it is expedient that no tract bearing upon the relation of master and slave be issued at present, and that the circulation of the tract "Sambo and Toney" be therefore stopped.—*Rejected.*

Thus, openly and unblushingly, did the majority of the Annual Meeting take their stand on the side of slavery and slaveholding, against all action for rebuking even the so called "abuses" of the slave system; against all expression of sentiment in their publications, *except*, as at present, in *favor* of slavery.

And this comes close on the heels of the similar action in Congress; which now unites the Judiciary, the Executive, and the Legislative branches of the Federal Government in the now detected conspiracy to extend slavery, by Federal authority, into all the States and Territories. The leading ecclesiastics, it would seem, are not to lag behind the leading politicians in this enterprise.

Bishop McIlvaine distinctly maintained that should the Society direct its Publishing Committee to publish a tract on slavery, any one member of that Committee would, by the constitution of the Society, have power to veto the Society's action. This he thought an admirable and conservative provision. Dr. Bethune went farther, and extended the power of veto to every "evangelical Christian" (?) in the land. Those who assent to this, can make no objection, we think, against the President's doctrine that the Federal Constitution carries slavery into Kansas against the will of the people. And why not? The Bishop and the President will be likely to command the ultimate assent of all who believe in the legality of slavery, and its innocent tolerance in the church and in the nation.

This Annual Meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Wm. S. Plummer, D. D., of Baltimore, formerly of Virginia, who in 1835 wrote thus to the chairman of a committee for calling a public meeting of the Clergy of Richmond, on the subject of abolition:

"Let them [the abolitionists] understand that they will be caught if they come among us, and they will take good care to keep out of our way." "If the abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should receive the first warning of the fire."

How much the spirit of pro-slavery clergymen has changed since 1835, may be inferred from the following item of the Tract Society's Annual Meeting this year:

Rev. Mr. Dennison, of South Carolina, would say that the emissaries who brought it [i. e. the tract on slavery] would have done so at the risk of their necks. Self-preservation demanded of them, whether Christians or not, when a man presented himself at their doors with such a missile as that, to send him away, and if he would not go by request, he should go by violence.

A Voice—It is a free country, is it not, Mr. Dennison?

Mr. D.—We would show him very soon whether it is free down there! [The Rev. Dr. Murray was observed to make a side remark to the speaker.]

The speaker said if he had used an expression too strong, he would withdraw it.

In reply to Dr. Bacon's declaration that, as a life-member of the Society, he meant to keep up this agitation while he lived, and hoped his children, who were also life members, would keep it up after his decease, Dr. Bethune said, "I will not submit to such a constant agitation as had been proposed. The right of the Society to peace and harmony, at the will of a majority, would be vindicated in a court of justice." And yet Dr. Bethune had just denied the right of the Society to publish any thing on the subject of slavery if one single member of the Society should object to it. This may be thought inconsistent; but it was not so. It was perfectly in harmony with the Dred Scott decision, and the spirit of slavery with which the majority on that occasion were so manifestly imbued. Clamorous cries for "the question," "the question;" frequent and loud hissings, persistent demands for the previous question when their opponents were speaking, regardless of the mild rebukes of the venerable Chairman, Chief Justice Williams, of Connecticut, who reminded them that they were conducting indecorously and disorderly,—characterized, to a great extent, their proceedings. Dr. DeWitt and Dr. Krebs endeavored, with but partial success, to restrain the intemperate zeal of their adherents. On the side of the "fanatics"—the "agitators"—all was quiet. No one had occasion to call them to order, though several of them tried, without success to get a hearing. Of abolitionists proper, Dr. Cheever's voice only was heard. For his allotted five minutes he made the walls and the roof ring with the "word of God" against the sin of slaveholding. For the moment, the foe seemed to quail, abashed. But what was "the word of God" on a cotton conscience, and in opposition to "the constitution" of the Tract Society, as expounded by slaveholders? No wonder that the Declaration of Independence, with its self-evident truths, is scouted in Congress! No wonder that the Constitution of the country is misconstrued.

PROGRESS, AGAIN.

Among the Resolutions adopted at the May Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society (Garrisonian) at Mozart Hall, May 11th, were the following—

"Whereas, by the 1st section of Article 4th of the Constitution of the United States, it is expressly declared—'The citizens of *each State* shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the *several States*'—therefore,

"Resolved, That to deny that those who are native-born and personally free—whose blood has been freely poured out on every battle-field, from the earliest to the latest conflict in behalf of American liberty and independence—who are eligible to every office in the gift of the people, by whose suffrages, in common with all others entitled to vote, the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the government brought into existence and put into operation, every President elected from George Washington to James Buchanan, and the Constitutions of many of the States ratified—who are found at the polls at every election, whether to vote for President, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, members of the Legislature, or Representatives to Congress—of whom allegiance and taxation are as strictly exacted as of the white inhabitants, and who have never been found wanting in the performance of their obligations and duties, but have always shown themselves to be animated by the most patriotic feelings—to deny that such are, or can be, citizens of the United States, in accordance with the plain meaning of the Constitution, is to outrage the common sense of mankind, and most wickedly to pervert judgment that the foundations of freedom may be destroyed. For whether is greater—the power which creates the

government, or the government which is created by it?

"Resolved, therefore, That the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case, ought to be indignantly protested against, and resisted at all hazards, by every State in the Union that has any regard for its sovereignty, or for the safety and liberty of its citizens."

These resolutions were read by Mr. Garrison, who stated that they were drawn up by himself. It will be perceived that, at a very vital point, they harmonize with the anti-slavery expositions of the Constitution maintained by the American Abolition Society, in opposition to the American Anti-slavery Society. It is a point, too, upon which Mr. Garrison took directly the opposite ground, at their anniversary in this city, a few years ago, in a debate with ourself. We had denied (in reply to Mrs. Rose,) that the Constitution made any distinction between "white" and colored people. Mr. Garrison rebuked us, sharply, for deception, and cited Article I, Sec. 2, which says:

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen, every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature."

Said Mr. Garrison, "Mr. Goodell must have known that, at the time the Constitution was framed, no State allowed any colored man to vote for a member of the State Legislature."

It so happened that Mr. Goodell didn't know any such thing, but went at work soon after, and collected extracts from the old State Constitutions and Charters, proving the reverse in respect to eleven out of the thirteen original States. When the Dred Scott decision came out, afterwards, we procured the publication of those extracts in the New York Tribune, from which they were extensively copied, and we are now circulating them, stereotyped, in an appendix to "*Our National Charters*." We are glad to find that the facts are now understood by Mr. Garrison, and that he is willing to assist us in giving them circulation. Once or twice before, we have noticed the same recognition of them in the proceedings of Garrisonian meetings, but had not, until the recent meeting, had the pleasure of listening to them from the lips of Mr. Garrison himself. We will make no complaint against him and his associates for "stealing our thunder," and not giving us credit. They may take slice after slice, from our well replenished larder, in the same way, and welcome. We hardly see how they can help doing so, (having gone thus far,) until they come fully up to our ground.

Judge Taney bases his whole fabric of pro-slavery exposition upon the false assumption against which the preceding resolutions are directed. We might build our entire edifice of anti-slavery exposition upon a denial of that assumption as now made by Mr. Garrison. If the Constitution, as Mr. Garrison now admits and maintains, makes no distinction on account of race or color, then the phrase in the preamble, "We, the people of the United States," who "ordained and established this Constitution for the United States of America," means all "the people of the United States"—the blacks as well as the whites, and consequently the Constitution must "establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty" impartially and equally

for all, and must permit the enslavement of none. We do hope that the time is not far distant when Mr. Garrison will cease to call the Constitution a "covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and will join with us in demanding that it be applied for the overthrow of American Slavery.

THE AMBIGUITY OF MORAL COMPROMISES.

Among the apologies urged, in the late Annual Meeting of the American Tract Society, in defence of the inaction of the Publishing Committee, one of the most effective was the ambiguous and self-stultifying terms in which the resolutions of the Society, the year previous, had been couched. The Committee had been instructed to publish a tract on the *evils* and *duties* growing out of slavery, but, as was understood, without any discussion of the nature and character of slavery itself. They were inhibited from touching the political aspects of slavery, but were required to treat of the duties and evils growing out of those political arrangements that sustain slavery. How could the duties of a relation be ascertained without an understanding of the relation itself? How could the moral be separated from the political? Then, again, while one resolution required that a tract of a certain description should be published, another resolution required that a course be pursued to harmonize the Society; and the Committee found that no tract could be published that would not destroy its harmony.

On these points we could not help admitting, in our own mind, as we listened to the discussion, that the apologists of the Publishing Committee had the argument; that Dr. Bethune was correct in saying that the resolutions of 1857 were like the old Delphic oracles that could be read either way, and the Publishing Committee violated not their instructions in waiting for another Annual Meeting of the Society, to explain them.

And they *did* explain them! The Secretaries and the Publishing Committee will feel that the Society justified them.

The question is, how long will professed reformers suffer themselves to be deluded and stultified by moral compromises, which almost necessarily involve ambiguities, upon which their opponents may fasten the constructions that answer their purposes?

SPEECHES IN CONGRESS.

It is encouraging to notice, in the recent speeches of Republicans in Congress, decided indications of progress in the direction of adopting the distinctive views of Radical Abolitionists. The illegality of slavery has been affirmed in a number of able speeches. The fact that the pro-slavery party is pushing for the Federal establishment of slavery in all the States, is beginning to find recognition. Pro-slavery expositions of the Constitution, one after another, in detail, are in process of being exploded. One member gets his eyes opened upon one fallacy, another upon another, and so on. One discovers that "*persons held to service and labor*," "from whom service is *due*," cannot be slaves. Another perceives that the Lecompton Constitution, being pro slavery, is not "a Republican form of government." Another foresees that either slavery or freedom must, ere long, be established in the whole country, to the exclusion of its antagonist.

ABOLITIONISM AMONG THE METHODISTS.

As a refreshing contrast to the servile proceedings of the American Tract Society, we gladly record the following.

At the late annual meeting of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held at the Cherry Street Church, New York City, the following Resolutions, reported by Rev. Dr. WHEDON, Chairman of the Committee on Slavery, were discussed during portions of six successive days, and severally adopted by large majorities, viz.:

1. Resolved, That we affirm the language of our Church in 1784, namely, that the practice of holding our fellow-creatures in slavery is contrary to the golden rule of God and the inalienable rights of mankind, as well as the principles of the American Revolution; and we therefore deem it our most bounden duty to take some effectual method to extirpate this abomination from among us.

2. Resolved, That it is the duty of our Church as a unit to educate her membership to the high standard of these her primitive doctrines, and to this end it is her duty to inculcate them prudently, but firmly, through her organs, whether press or pulpit.

3. Resolved, That while we oppose slavery as citizens, and give our sympathy to those who, in the State, are maintaining the cause of freedom against the slave power, we are especially the opponents of oppression as a sin, and the supporters of emancipation as the requirement of righteousness; and we would, therefore, remember that our anti-slaveryism should be deeply imbued with the spirit of the Holy Gospel; that it should wisely consult the honor and unity of our Church, in the full faith that the highest good will be obtained through the legitimate instrumentality of her established institutions.

4. Resolved, That we offer our unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, and tender our cordial congratulations to the friends of humanity, for the rapid extension of the principles of justice and freedom during the past year, as well as for the cheering prospects of the extension of Free Institutions in our country; and we cherish the anticipation that, with proper effort in maintaining and diffusing light and truth on the subject, all misunderstanding will disappear, and the church will unite, as with the heart of one man, upon the ancient Wesleyan platform, and, as in the great English emancipation struggle, Methodism will be unanimous and energetic in the cause of freedom.

A fifth resolution directed the publication of the preceding ones in the *Christian Advocate* and *Journal*. The first resolution was adopted, after some discussion, on the day it was reported, by a vote of 91 to 10. The debate afterwards, was chiefly on the second resolution, to which a substitute was offered by the Rev. Dr. NATHAN BANGS, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Church, as a unit, to exert herself in ameliorating the condition of slaves in our country, and to use all Scriptural and prudent means to effect, as soon as possible, their emancipation.

On the sixth day, this substitute was rejected by a vote of 51 to 35, after which the original Second Resolution and the remaining ones were adopted by much larger majorities, there being only a few hands raised against the third and fourth.

Among those who advocated the Resolutions were the Rev. Drs. Whedon, Floy, Curry, Rev. Messrs. Hatfield, Woodbury, Inskip, Hubbell, and Studley. On the other side were Rev. Drs. Nathan Bangs, Crooks, Kennedy, and Perry, and Rev. Messrs. Heman Bangs and Roche. Much of the time was occupied in animadversions pro and con, on the character of the Philadelphia Conference in relation to Slavery, Rev. Mr. Long's book on the subject and the treatment he had received. Mr. Long was present part of the time, and made statements. After he had left, Mr. Perry* made a virulent attack upon him, impeaching his veracity, and was silenced by questions from Dr. Whedon.

* According to the N. Y. Times, Dr. Perry was "a graduate of West Point, and formerly a Colonel in the Texan Army." He should have remained in the Army.

We were in attendance much of the time and were deeply interested. The speeches in favor of the Resolution were able, eloquent, and direct to the point. The opposition spent its strength, chiefly, on dissuasives drawn from considerations of expediency, the vital importance of unity among Methodists, the excellent character of the Philadelphia Conference, the "rowdyism and radicalism" of the abolitionists in the Conference, their resemblance to "dogs barking at the moon"—their abusive and contemptuous language towards their opponents, &c. &c. It seemed to us that the greater part of the objectionable language was from the other side, though some things on both sides, might have been omitted without disadvantage. It was, at times, a very exciting debate.

The audiences, which were large, on account of the discussions and during their continuance, were evidently, the greater portion of them, in sympathy with the abolitionists. This was too plain to be mistaken. An excellent impression on the whole, in favor of the abolition cause, must have been produced, during the week's discussion. The galleries were crowded with ladies and gentlemen. And the anti-Slavery spirit of the great majority of the members of the Conference, so freely manifested, was very refreshing. The glowing countenances, the significant exchange of glances, and the hearty "Amen" revealed the earnestness of the movement on their part. In the aisles, in the porch, on the door-steps, and in the thronged streets, after an adjournment (which closed each debate) the expressions of abolition sentiment constituted the "rule" to which the scowl of disapprobation and murmur of discontent were the "exception."

And this, in the City of New York, where, 25 years ago, the opposite sentiment was almost universal, imperious, overbearing, and scarcely tolerating a word in apology for abolition! One or two, in the Conference, whose word was then law, have survived to witness, with sorrow, the ascendancy of what they deem heresy and disorganization.

The "New York East Methodist Conference," comprises the Methodists of the portion of New York City east of Broadway, the whole of Brooklyn which includes Williamsburgh, all the rest of Long Island, and the adjacent parts of Connecticut. This is the Eastern part of what used to be the "New York Conference," which in June, 1836—

"Resolved that . . . We are decidedly of opinion that none ought to be elected to the office of a deacon or elder in our Church, unless he give a pledge to the Conference that he will refrain from agitating the Church on this subject," &c.

The same Conference, at the same time, approved the doings of the General Conference in commending "those brethren and citizens of the North who resist the abolition movements with firmness and moderation,"—and also disapproved the patronizing of Zion's Watchman, a Methodist anti-Slavery paper.

So that the Methodists of 1858, in the New York East Conference recommended, precisely what those of 1836, discountenanced and disapproved—namely, the use of the Methodist pulpit and press against Slavery. Surely "the world moves"—and the Church, too. It will be a hard case, if Northern and Western Me-

thodists in general cannot be persuaded to take as high a stand against Slavery as their brethren in New York City, the very seat of Northern pro-Slavery conservatism and servility.

We anticipate great good from this demonstration of Methodist Abolitionism in our city and vicinity. Will not other denominations all over the country, be ashamed to lag behind New York Methodism?

We should have mentioned that, after the Resolutions had been adopted, a motion to define the Slavery therein condemned as "mercenary slavery," was promptly and very properly tabled. The mover, probably, had not learned or had forgotten that the very vilest of all slaveholding is for far other purposes than money making, that one of the chief attractions and foundations of slaveholding is its privilege of compulsory polygamy—and that another is the political power which it confers on an oligarchy of less than 200,000 to control 24 millions of Americans. And, besides, the temptation to use slave services comes less from its pecuniary economy than from its gratification to pride, domination, and contempt of labor.

One item more. "The Committee on Periodicals" reported Resolutions endorsing the course of the Editors of the Quarterly Review and National Magazine, particularly on the Slavery question. DR. BAXES moved to strike out the Slavery section, but the motion was lost and the original Resolution was adopted.

Lord Napier, on behalf of the British Government complains that the American flag is used to cover the slave trade on the African coast, and maintaining that the American Government is bound, by its treaty stipulations with Great Britain, to increase its squadron for the prevention of the trade. Secretary Cass, on the part of the American Government, declines doing anything about it.

There are rumors that Spain is about to abolish slavery in Cuba. Two reasons are assigned for this policy; first, the unprofitableness of slave culture; second, the determination to put a stop to the eager importunity of the American Government to purchase Cuba.

Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, in speaking on the Kansas question, in Congress, said—

"The party represented by GERRIT SMITH, were 'the friends of the slave, but the great object of the Free Soil organization is power, and the slavery question was brought in to assist in obtaining possession of the government.'"

We frequently meet with southern declarations to the same effect. They show the bad influence of the disclaimers, so often made by Republicans and Free Soilers, of any "design to interfere with slavery in the States." This is naturally understood to be a disclaimer of moral principle and motives of benevolence.—The inference naturally drawn is, that the object is mere personal ambition, party rivalry, and sectional interest. The conscience of the nation—Northern and Southern, is not thus reached; the confidence of the Southern non-slaveholder is not won; and, more than all, the approbation of the common Father of all men is not secured, nor his providential co-operation enlisted, as facts will prove.

NEGRO SLAVEHOLDERS.—It seems that there are negro slaveholders in Louisiana, and every body knows that there are plenty of white slaves there. The free negro planters, in some sections, are said to be quite numerous. One of them, nearly a full-blooded negro, owns a hundred slaves. The Legislature of Louisiana has lately passed a law, (the only one in the States,) prohibiting free negroes from owning slaves, but whether this applies to slaves now held by negroes, or whether it is only "directed against the further acquisition of slaves by negroes," is not ascertained. We abridge these statements from the Washington Republic, April 3.

Mr. Hammond, of S. C., has lately been repeating, in Congress, the old doctrine, that all laborers, white or colored, ought to be slaves; that the experiment of free labor at the North is a failure. It turns out, according to the *Evening Post*, that the father of Mr. Hammond was one of the "white slaves" he speaks so contemptuously of—a butcher, a laboring man, working in a saw-mill. Query.—Whether it is the degeneracy of the Hammond family, in the person of Senator Hammond, that has proved the experiment of free society a failure? We know of several Mr. Hammonds at the North, mechanics and laborers, who would be ashamed to recognize the South Carolina Senator as a cousin. Some of them could cope with him in an argument on the slavery question.

"Parties," says the *New York Times*, "are tending more and more to sectional platforms." Well, what is the remedy? How are they to be nationalized? Slavery is the great national question. Let there be a party composed of the friends of liberty, North, South, East, and West, united for a national abolition of slavery. Already there is a party, the pro-slavery Administration party, Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western, combined for the national abolition of freedom. Let there be only these two national parties, and we shall have no more complaints about sectional platforms.

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